

REGIONALISM VS. SECTIONALISM IN THE SOUTH'S PLACE IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

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I

THE assumptions underlying this discussion are that there are certain fundamental distinctions between sectionalism, such as the authentic earlier sectionalism of the South or Frederick Jackson Turner's equally authentic, historical, political, and economic sectionalism of the whole nation, on the one hand, and the developing cultural and administrative regionalism of the United States of the 1930's, on the other. Moreover, Professor Turner's prophecy that sectionalism in America was likely to increase rather than decrease seems well on the way to fulfillment in a sort of recurring "new sectionalism," which appears to be primarily a revivification of the older sectionalism rationalized into the "new regionalism." The common confusion of Turner's sectionalism with the newer prospects of regionalism is not academic and is of critical importance at this time. What the distinctions and their implications are and how important it is to turn this present trend toward sectionalism into realistic regionalism will be discussed in another paper. It will suffice here, therefore, simply to point to certain distinctions which have a particular bearing upon the southern regions in the national economy.

In the first place, regionalism envisages the Nation first, making the national cul-

ture and welfare the final arbiter. On the other hand, sectionalism sees the region first and the nation afterwards. Or, in Professor Turner's characterization, the section thinks "in other words, of the nation in terms of itself." This is no more nor less true of one section than another; no less applicable if leaders who happen to be in federal control interpret, to quote Turner again, their own particular sectional "culture, economics, politics, and well-being as best for all the nation."

In the second place, sectionalism emphasizes political boundaries and state sovereignties, technical legislation, local loyalties, and confederation of states "with common interests, menaced by federal action." Where sectionalism features separateness, regionalism connotes component and constituent parts of the larger national culture. Or, to use Turner's definition again, sectionalism is characterized by "those manifestations of economic and social separateness involved in the existence in a given region of a set of fundamental assumptions, a mental and emotional attitude which segregates the section from other sections or from the nation as a whole." Or still again, "the various sections of which the country is composed are thus seen as potential nations," and "the imagination stirs at the possibilities of the future, when these

sections shall be fully matured and populated to the extent of the nations of the Old World."

Woodrow Wilson made an even clearer interpretation of sectionalism from the viewpoint of the citizen and the nation at large. Although a southerner and ever eager to emphasize the merits of the southern genius and culture, he had little patience with sectionalism. "Any man," he said, "who revives the issue of sectionalism in this country, is unworthy of the government of the nation; he shows himself a provincial; he shows that he himself does not know the various sections of his own country; he shows that he has shut his heart up in a little province and that those who do not see the special interests of that province are to him sectional, while he alone is national. That is the depth of unpatriotic feeling."

In the third place, sectionalism may be likened unto cultural inbreeding, whereas regionalism is line-breeding. As I have pointed out elsewhere, "In the one case only the local viewpoint, contacts, materials, and resources are utilized, while in the other local resources are utilized with reference to all other possible materials; and, if matters of social policy are involved, local resources are utilized and developed through skills made available through outside coöperation and cross fertilization of ideas. Sectionalism inbreeds to stagnation by ignoring time, technology, and collaboration; regionalism develops new strength from old power through progressive line-breeding of new cultures, built upon the old." Another way of distinguishing the two: "regionalism might be conceived as a cultural specialization within geographical and cultural bounds in an age which continuously demands wider contacts and standardized activities; or it may be a way of quality in a quantity world."

In the fourth place, regionalism by the very nature of its regional, interregional, and national coöperative processes implies more of the designed and planned society than sectionalism, which is the group correspondent to individualism. Whereas sectionalism would abound in conflict, making necessary buffer issues or areas or fighting grounds "for breaking the impact of sections and of affording a means of accommodating rival interests and shifting the balance of power," regionalism would find its buffer and adjustments through the well planned, interregional balanced economy. Instead of the old and recent recurring questions, will the South or the West "fight," there would be substituted the inquiry as to whether the South or the West or any other region will *plan and work together* for the mutually better ordering of the common good. Fundamental also is the significance of accommodating the many subregions within each of the major regions through the regional and interregional approach of social planning as opposed to the revivification of provincial cultures and selfish interests. As is everywhere agreed, the old American unlimited free competition must now be replaced by something better, so also the old sectionalism of the nation must be replaced by a realistic, social regionalism.

Finally, one of the most critical aspects of sectionalism is the fact that it must have its counterpart in a potential, and in the full flowering of its development, an inevitable coercive federalism, which is contrary to the stated ideals of American democracy. Not only does sectionalism sooner or later, as Turner points out, constitute "potential bases for forceful resistance," and thus necessitate federal coercion; but it gives excuse for the theory and practice of dictatorship which ignores regional, cultural, and geographi-

cal differentials. Just as within the nation coercive federalism may become the objectionable counterpart to sectionalism, so sectionalism is analogous to the new economic nationalism as related to international economy. Manifestly, these are fundamental issues in the new period of recovery and reconstruction. They are of peculiar importance and of dramatic significance in the case of the South.

II

That there was no more important or difficult task, no more dramatic phase of American life, before the people of the United States than the adequate readjustment of the nation's southern regions to the new America was the assumption underlying a decade of regional study begun in the early 1920's. There was abundant evidence to indicate that the southern states, because of their incredibly rich resources, were capable of almost unlimited development provided they could eliminate the stupendous economic and social waste which kept them drained to poverty levels; could develop adequate technology for the utilization of physical wealth; and could provide adequate education and cultural institutions for the enrichment of human life. These tasks the South had not yet succeeded in accomplishing with either sufficient zeal or skill. On the other hand, the South, on the threshold of great promise, and having made tremendous strides forward, was by the late 1920's apparently unable to hold the position that it had gained with so much difficulty. There were also unmistakable signs of widening distances between the "South" and the "North" and "West" constituting one of the most interesting phenomena of American culture and a new problem as well.

Moreover, there was much evidence to indicate that the South was again veering rightward towards the old type of state

and sectional mindedness, wistful of its own peculiar civilization limited by geographical and traditional boundaries rather than seeking to develop a richer regional culture, merged into the national picture, but gaining strength from its normal regional advantages. There were also hidden evidences of a right-left trend, now toward unsuspected fascistic principles and now symptomatic of revolution, in the South's peculiar sectional phenomena. For instance, before Hitler's Nazi Germany the South was revivifying an emotional culture through its attack upon universities and intellectual life; through its religious coloring of politics and statecraft; through its appeal to sectional patriotism or regional nationalism; through its intolerance of criticism and opposition; and through its continuing emphasis upon racial issues, Nordic superiority, and one hundred per cent Americanism. The seeds of revolution appeared to be scattered, but abundant, in mob action, in class conflict, in protests against various units and activities of government, in frontier individualism, and in a considerable volume of radical rumblings under the guise of patriotic protest and traditional loyalties.

Of any such verdicts, whether true or false, the South was, of course, largely unaware. For here was one of those vast American regional empires vibrant with the emotions and unplanned activities of a great people, working heroically to overcome multiple handicaps, conscious of their power, yet also sometimes conscious of their limitations and need of help; now boastful, now discouraged, now troubled, now fretted by the severity of their critics and the handicaps and hazards of their fortunes. It was, all told, a paradoxical South, now rapidly developing, now receding, an eager and puzzled South trying to take stock of itself and its rôle in the changing nation.

In all these aspects of regional culture, it was emphasized again and again that what neither the nation nor the South appeared to comprehend in a practical way was the fact that this was first of all a national problem. That is, the key to the situation was to be found in the phenomenon as a normal problem of complex social development, essentially of American civilization, secondarily of southern culture. For the story of both the settlement and evolution of the Southern States and of their future development was first of all an American story. More than that, the epic of how these states came to be what they were in early territorial expansion and divisions, in population and its distribution, in the great range and variety of resources and activities, and in their later development into a peculiar culture region, was appraised as one of the most dramatic stories, not only of American but of modern civilization. What the South did and how it developed, it was emphasized, was important to the South, but of much greater significance to the regional planning of national reconstruction and to the theoretical understanding of a changing nation.

Yet everywhere the tendency persisted to make of the South a sectional issue rather than a regional opportunity; to make the regional character of the problem synonymous with the whole complex problem itself. The final result would be inevitable if both the nation and the South insisted on this interpretation and action. The South would be in fact a sectional division of the nation. The South needed to reconstruct its place in the nation by building upon its own physical and cultural resources. The South itself must be largely instrumental in accomplishing this task. Yet the South could not succeed without the liberal and intelligent coöperation of the other regions of the na-

tion. The situation, it was pointed out, was in the way of becoming a crisis for both the South and the nation. Literature and discussions about the South had become extraordinarily voluminous, often platitudinous, monotonous; featuring flight from reality where achievement was demanded. There was still little unity, little integration of effort, little knowledge adequately interpreted in realistic perspective, and practically no approach to orderly research and planning. There was, therefore, need for a much more realistic analysis and synthesis of facts, a more penetrating insight into the total meaning of the situation, and a clearer focusing upon action and planning programs of the future.

So much for the general aspects of earlier hypotheses. There is now abundant evidence from the re-examination of a vast amount of data already available, from more recent special studies of the South's capacity for educational and social development, and from observations of national and regional recovery measures, to support these hypotheses and to give them and others restatement in more concrete terms. A supporting corollary is that the task of regional reconstruction and readjustment is all the more urgent because the South, now facing its own peculiar crises in the midst of and in relation to national recovery, appears almost equally capable of making the best or the worst of all possible contributions to the national culture of the next generation. That is, its contribution might be of the lowest as well as of the highest order; might add to the nation's burden as well as enhance its riches; might contribute to national conflict as well as national unity; might afford the shortest road to revolution or the quickest steps to fascism, as well as a logical part of an orderly planned reconstruction economy.

Nowhere is this merely an academic problem. It is stark reality. The South, like the nation, is in the remaking, but with a social heritage often likened unto Germany in the sense that facing a crisis it has a tendency to take the wrong road. It follows, of course, that the region's contribution to the nation will determine the quality of its own civilization, and that axiomatically the quality of its own development will determine the measure of its national contribution. A second corollary is to the effect that the chances in favor of the South enriching rather than impoverishing both regional and national life appear to depend upon a much more realistic facing of facts and a much more comprehensive and equally realistic regional-national planning program than have been anywhere attempted heretofore. Such a program, furthermore, must be begun at once and must encompass definite objectives in the major activities and institutions of the region and for both periodic priority schedules and for aggregates of a minimum ten-year period. Adequate planning, moreover, while magnifying the regional approach, will point to an increasingly effective integration with the national reconstruction. It is this featuring of action and reality which gives special emphasis to the approach to social planning implied in the present appraisal.

III

The problem may be presented first in a series of preliminary considerations which will serve as the general framework or hypothesis in support of which a vast amount of data must be presented in order. The first series of considerations centers around the place of the South in the national economy. For whatever else the Southern Region may be, it is first of all a major part of the moving inventory of a

powerful nation rebuilding its own fortunes and reconstructing its part in the world of nations. As a special region, the South is destined to play an increasingly important rôle in what now appears to be the most momentous drama of survival-struggle that has yet tested the enduring qualities of American civilization. There are several premises underlying these preliminary considerations. One is that the next major strategy of both social study and social action in the United States will revolve around the concept and technologies of the planned society, presupposing a considerable measure of controlled and directed social organization and economic production. A first minor premise within this major strategy is that the regional analysis and approach to social planning will be increasingly basic to permanent recovery programs. A second minor premise is that in the regional approach, the Southern States constitute both an emergency and an ideal laboratory for regional analysis and planning, affording both unusual problems and facilities through their multiple subregions, their cultural and geographic characteristics, and their relation to interregional and international trade. The conclusion follows that regional planning for the South is an immediate next step for insuring a better national equilibrium, for the adequate development of the region itself, and for minimizing the older type of sectional politics and rivalries so long characteristic of various parts of the nation.

Once again this conclusion concerning the importance of the region is based upon joint evidence from the national and regional inventory. The wealth and ways of the United States, in all aspects as comprised in the total picture of wealth and well-being, and especially in relation to the dramatic rise of the nation and to

its future planning are peculiarly rich in regional character and development. This America of the states and regions is a colossal picture not infrequently as incomprehensible to Americans as it is the puzzle of the foreign visitor. Of the separate excellencies and superlative qualities and achievements of many a subregion or of their peculiar local limitations and deficiencies, the nation is often in ignorance except through provincial caricature and unauthenticated report. There is scant chance, under the old ways, of the "East" understanding the turbulent Northwest. Stage pictures of North and South, still predominating, are peculiarly inappropriate in an age of science, invention, and mobility. Yet, the measure of ignorance, one section of another, is largely the measure of the regions themselves, while the meaning and extent of their multiple differentials and capacities is little known.

For here are states, forty-eight of them, each with its rich historical backgrounds and institutional character. Here are groupings of states, tending to constitute relatively homogeneous areas of culture and geography. Here are other demographic groupings transcending state lines and reflecting through various indices of occupation, population, politics, religion, folkways, soil, climate, similarities enough to indicate a regional society distinctive in some ways from the rest of the country. Once again there are regions so differentiated primarily because of geographic soil, or agricultural character, while others are functional regions looking to practical applications of commerce, trade, newspaper circulation, politics, financial organization, census enumerations, army organization, postal regulations. Moreover, there are still larger implications of regionalism in the traditional divisions of North and South,

East and West, and in the perennial two-fold division of the nation—half rural and half urban, with the urban half quickly grown to two-thirds and comprising nearly a hundred metropolitan subregions of over a hundred thousand people each. And finally the American regional portraiture is rich in historical and theoretical backgrounds interpretative and reminiscent of how civilizations grow and change, rise and fall; basic to the planning of a balanced political and social economy.

One of the most important of the new implications of regionalism in the nation reflects a trend contrary to what has often been predicted and finds a sort of counterpart in the increasing tendency toward economic nationalism. It has been freely predicted that modern communication, technology, and standardization processes would tend to minimize regional and national differences. There is, however, the important fact that certain economic aspects of both regionalism and nationalism have been accentuated by modern technology. Communication, transportation, and invention bring sections and nations closer together, but they also solidify groups and standardize production. In the other days, for instance, the manufacture of finer fabrics, cloths, and paper were centered in northern and eastern regions of the United States. The progress of science and invention later made it possible for the South to compete on more favorable terms. The same sort of thing is likely to apply in other regions and to other commodities. It applies also to other nations—the production of cotton and cotton goods, of oil, of many things originally imported or exported, so that a new type of economic planning will be necessary to gear together interregional and international programs.

There is growing up not only a considerable movement for America to be "self-contained" but a great array of data to show how science and technology have made it possible now for the nation to produce what is needed, even to such basic materials as rubber. The assumption is that science has broken down the old division between manufacturing countries and raw material countries and is reducing the number of raw materials which come primarily from nature. The further assumption is that general cultural factors, science, ideas, literature, travel, recreation should be international, but that goods, finance, economic processes should be primarily national. The same presumptions are applicable in less degrees to regions within the nation. Furthermore, even if economic nationalism is desired, the inventory of regions is the first essential to the inventory of capacity for national self-sufficiency.

Thus in America, from whatever motivation, the picture of the regions of the nation is increasingly important. Resources, differences, conflicts, cultural development, interregional free trade, planning for balanced optimum production programs, "the more perfect union," all are elemental factors in the New Deal and the new blueprints of progress. And within each region, inventory of capacity and character, prospects and reasonable attainments and autonomy are of the utmost importance. Moreover, there are fundamental readjustments to be made in land utilization, in redistribution of deficiency groups and areas, and in multiple tasks for transforming "stubborn mediaevalism" or cultural sterility into the sense and action of a more abundant life, a nearer approximation to human adequacy.

So much for the regional approach.

So also the urgent need for a new sort of planned mastery for the South is predicated not only upon the analysis of data bearing upon the region, but also upon the evidence which points to the inevitability of social planning for the nation. Whatever else may develop later, the present evidence indicates that there is one way forward in the new national arrangements, and that is through blueprints of a planned society, the specifications of which will comprehend not only the essential technical units for reconstructing a great nation but also the fundamentals of the American way of democracy. The alternative other than chaos or violent revolution or possibly postponed catastrophe, following *laissez faire*, would be certain action patterns equivalent to dictatorship, whether of mass or minority or iron man. In the failure of a planned and better ordered democracy would inhere the strength of fascism or its equivalent, which would offer to satisfy youth, "solve" economic problems for the business man, fight communism and radicalism, give the feeling of power to the unlettered multitudes, release sufferers from poverty and despair, release the public from thinking, encourage its aversion to going highbrow, realize the hopes of a great nationalism, and produce action, and action now. Toward the attainment of these ends, the patterns of dictatorship, if the planned democratic order is rejected by America, would bring to bear the subtle and irresistible combination of a quick, spiritual transformation and quick and complete regimentation of the people, such that the folkways come mysteriously and suddenly to coincide with the stateways. The Southern Region, left to further chaotic drift and undesigned economy, offers poor prospect for that effective Jeffersonian

democracy of which it has long boasted and for that more abundant life of which it could prove preëminently capable.

IV

A second series of general consideration centers around the concept of the South as a distinctive region, the comparison of its wealth and ways with other regions, and the implications of its differences to both the regional and national culture. The merits of the regional approach to national planning inhere not only in the greater probability of attaining a national and interregional balanced social and political economy, but also in the opportunity for the more effective and orderly development of each regional unit based upon essential differences, capacities, needs, fitness. In the case of the South, whatever else may be true, whatever may be its place in the national economy, it is "different" from the rest of the nation in much of its quantitative distribution of wealth, management, and labor and in many of its folkways and institutional modes of life. These differences can be ascertained, stated, measured, plotted. Their significance, often quite different from what is commonly assumed, can be appraised in relation to regional capacities and cultural developments and to readjustment to other regions and to the whole national picture.

In the case of the Southern United States, a region most complex and paradoxical, it has for some time been clear that the South not only differs from the rest of the country, but also, and radically, within its own former bounds. There is no longer "the South" but many Souths. In addition to its multiple smaller subregions, which will be utilized for the purpose of more detailed study and planning, it is possible, however, to analyze the South effectively through two

major regions and to note in addition to these the border fringe of other states and areas, which either already tend to merge into other regions or appear to be in the process of doing so. These two major divisions comprise the *Southeast*, with eleven states approximately coinciding with the "Old South," and the *Southwest*, with the four states of Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona, and New Mexico, comprising a new and evolving culture, already radically different from the Southeastern States in most respects and developing more and more into a regional culture distinctive from any other.

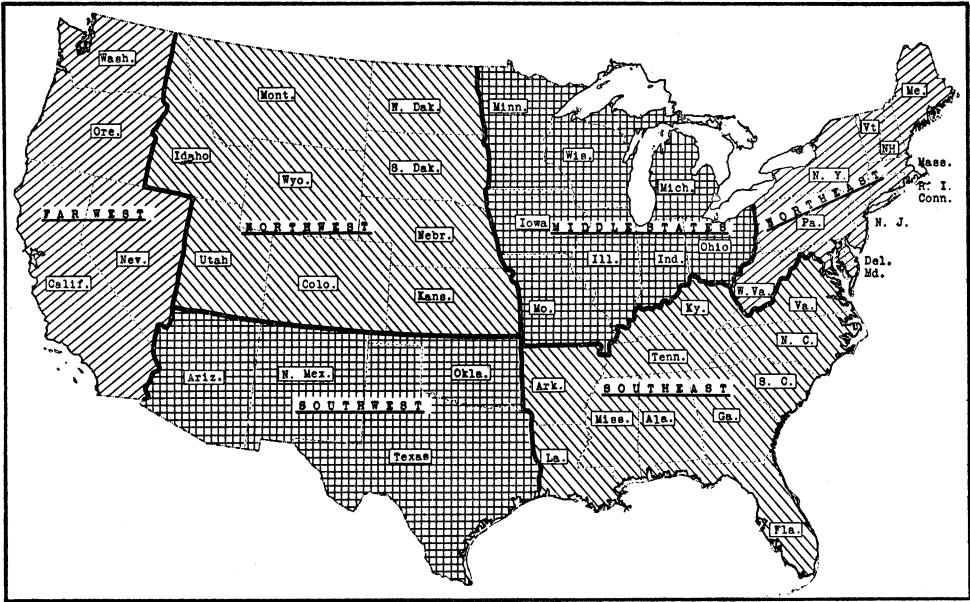
It must be clear that Speaker Garner's home region in which his election leading to the vice-presidency was brought about by the votes of hordes of Mexicans is a different South from the Virginia of Carter Glass or from a black belt in Alabama, Georgia, or Mississippi, and that the climate, hygrology, soil, and minerals of Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, and parts of Texas make a poor fist at being "the South." It is also clear that in the border fringe such states as Missouri, West Virginia, and Maryland are not "southern." Although parts of Kentucky and Virginia merge well into the Middle States and Northeast, and certain cultural extensions of the Northeastern States into the Southeast reflect possibilities of ultimate development into a group of "eastern" states, comparable to some extent to the far western group, for the present the great majority of indices make quite clear the twofold major divisions of the South as Southeast and Southwest, the Southwest appearing quite as distinctive in both economic and cultural character as are the other major regions of the nation.

Now, in order both to make adequate analyses and appraisals of the South and to make due comparative studies basic to

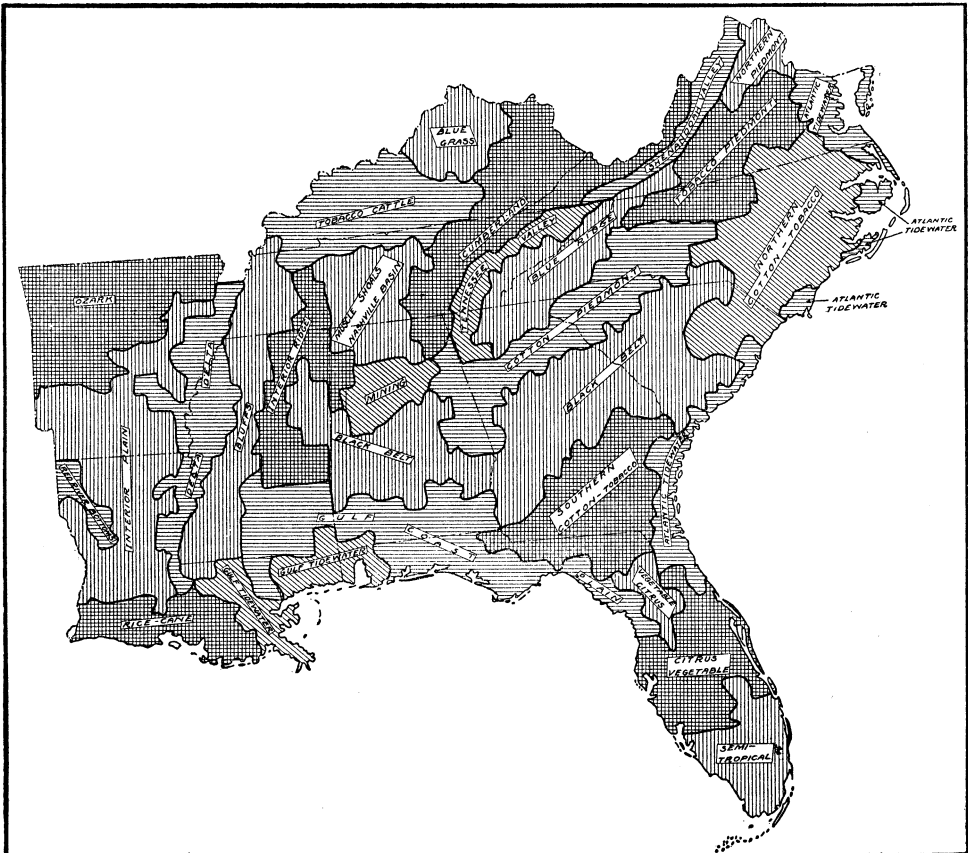
regional development, it was equally important to determine other major regions of the nation comparable in area and the other selected indices to those of the Southeast and Southwest. During recent years various classifications of the states of the union into regional divisions for specific and practical purposes have been utilized. Some of the best known of these are the divisions used by the United States Census, by the Federal Reserve Banking System, and by the United States Chamber of Commerce. From a careful examination of these and many others, it is clear at once that they are not suitable for a statistical and cultural study of contemporary changing regional society in the United States. A special grouping is, therefore, necessary if the desired results are to be obtained. For the purpose of such study the designation of major regional divisions of the United States must meet a number of specific requirements: the number of regions must not be too large, nor, on the other hand, must the regions themselves be too large for effective study and unity. Each region should combine the largest number of geographic, economic, and cultural factors possible for the purpose of classification and study. Such classification must take into consideration historical factors, present trends and movements toward new developments, and a large number of elemental focusing indices, such as population, urban and rural trends, production and consumption of commodities, occupational and industrial factors, educational and philanthropic developments, special institutional character, political uniformities, and other measurable factors. For the present and for practical purposes of measurement it is necessary to designate each region in terms of a number of states, although in many instances cultural and economic factors transcend state boundaries.

By combining the various regions as found in the many map-pictures available and by comprehensive study of a wide range of factors it was possible to construct a regional picture adequate for comparative purposes and for understanding and planning the next steps of the nation's development. On such a basis six major regions approximate characteristics suitable for adequate portraiture; regions not too large for measurement and distinctive characterization, not so small and numerous as to complicate the picture. The *northeastern* picture is practically synonymous with Frederick J. Turner's greater New England and includes twelve states and the capital: Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. The *southeastern* picture includes eleven states: Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky. The *southwestern* picture represents a new cultural region long since differentiated from "The South" and nearer West than South, including the four states of Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona. The *Middle States*, largely what was long known as the Middle West, include eight states: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri. The new *Northwest*, comprising much of what was called the Mountain States, includes nine states: North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah. Finally, the *far western* picture includes the four states: Washington, Oregon, California of the Coast States, and Nevada as the fringe from the North and Southwest.

Within these regions there are, of course, subregions of distinction. Within the northeastern region, there is the old



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SUBREGIONS OF THE SOUTHEAST

New England indescribably American in the old days, indescribably mixed in the new. There is also the great region of concentrated wealth, industry, philanthropic institutions, universities, metropolitan regions, starting perhaps with Boston and including New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, giving a picture of such dominance of wealth, universities, cities, drama, literature, philanthropies, as has not hitherto been recorded. Within the South, there are not only the old cultural subregions, such as Charleston, New Orleans, but more than a score of demographic subregions including the Black Belt, the Cotton Piedmont, Tobacco Piedmont, Northern Cotton-Tobacco, Blue Ridge, Atlantic Tidewater, Semi-Tropical, Citrus Vegetable, Vegetable Citrus, Southern Cotton-Tobacco, Northern Piedmont, Coast, Tennessee Valley, Cumberland, Blue Grass, Tobacco Cattle, Muscle Shoals-Nashville Basin, Mining, Black Belt, Gulf Coast Plain, Gulf Tidewater, Rice-Cane, Bluffs, Interior Ridge, Delta, Interior Plain, Ozark, Red River Bottoms, Shenandoah Valley.

Each of the six major regions is an empire of wealth and territory in itself. Each is greater and more self-sufficing than many nations of the world. Each is incurably sentimental and patriotic about its own virtues and assets. Each is colossally ignorant and provincial with reference to other regions, believing everything it hears and inquiring into nothing until impelled by necessity or specific advantage. Each can honestly boast of certain superior and distinctive advantages, resources, cultural backgrounds. Each has its strong points and weak points, foci of advance and recession. Each bears its integral part in the burden of the nation, and each, alas, contributes its load to the nation's burden of prob-

lems. Each wants much from the federal government, and each presents a marvelous array of evidence to support its claims. The 1933 Revolution at Washington was learning as never before the significance of regions and the measure of common ignorance concerning complicated folkways and institutions. For there were great differences and inequalities abounding, and such interrelationships as would yield unforeseen results of action, one region upon others.

Each region has its distinctive historical backgrounds rich in romance and contributing materially to the total national pattern and inseparably interwoven with the economic and political fabric of the nation. How new and young, after all, were the more westerly regions: Middle States, Southwest, Northwest, Far West cultures fabricated by and in the memory of living men and women. Chicago, rival of New York, was just a hundred years old and was celebrating its birthday through the picturesque "Century of Progress," colorful portraiture of what the people had done since 1833—more colorful picture of what they were doing in 1933. There was in 1833 a letter from Douglas predicting a rivalry between Chicago and New York—at the time seemingly a far prophecy. No state of this great region of Middle States was admitted to the union before the turn of the nineteenth century, while the baby giant of them all, Minnesota, with its magic Twin-City metropolitan area came in after the Civil War. The others: Wisconsin, 1848, Iowa, 1846, Michigan, 1837, Missouri, 1821, Illinois, 1818, Indiana, 1816, Ohio, 1803. And of the northwestern group an unbelievably young region, most of which were admitted just before the turn of the twentieth century—Utah as late as 1896; Idaho and Wyoming, 1890; Montana and the Dakotas, 1889;

with Nebraska and Kansas belonging to the more eastern group of Middle States in time, 1867 and 1861. And still younger members of the New Southwest, Oklahoma in 1907, Arizona and New Mexico in 1912. Beyond and below these, however, product of the earlier westward movement, California was as old as 1850, Oregon, 1859, and Washington, 1889, while Texas belonged back again in the Pre-Civil War period of 1845.

Here, then, were the four youthful regions in contrast to the two eastern, North and South, patriarchal groups, thirteen of which constituted the first original empire. It is essential if one is to understand the unevenness of development, the rugged and ragged dynamics of action, and the instability of the 1930's to see the American picture in terms of its regional chronology. Pictures and pictures again of contrast. The northeast group all charter members of the nation in 1787, 1788, or 1789, except West Virginia which was a war debt from Virginia to the union in 1863. And the Southeast, largely of the Old South, charter states of the nation—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, 1788, 1789, and 1788, and precocious Tennessee of 1796 vintage, followed then by early acquisitions, Mississippi, 1817, Alabama, 1819, Louisiana, 1812, Arkansas, 1812, and Florida in a class of its own in history, culture, and chronology in 1845.

Moreover, there was perhaps no part of the American picture more characteristically dramatic than the regional expansion of an evolving nation. The stock pictures were those of the Louisiana Purchase, the Texas acquisition, the "Winning of the West," the gold rush to California, covered wagons, and cavalries; German migration of the 1840's, romance and tragedy, Indian wars, French traders, epic and epoch of a nation. But

there were other more fundamental pictures of the ways in which the nation came to be as it was. The historical nomenclature of the regions, like some strata evidence of an old civilization, revealed the growing changing nation. Thus, at one time or another the designation of "the great West," or "West" signified an extraordinarily large number of western regions. It might mean anything from Buffalo or Pittsburgh to the golden gates of California. Tennessee at one time constituted the great western lands, Ohio was quite far west. The Middle West in the early 1930's is scarcely west at all, and the great Northwest is at most a North Central Region.

It is in the interrelation of economics and politics, religion and conquest in the winning of these "Wests" that an organic part of the national picture is found. These "Wests" and "Southwests" were frontiers, experimenters with regional and sectional expansion, debtor regions to the East, which in turn was sponsor and financier for great developments which were to be profitable and which constituted the outlying provinces, rural and religious, adventurous and gradually becoming a different America. Contests for empire and wealth conditioned the nation for its future economic development: North and South, East and West, railroad and canal, slave and free, cities and country—it was a grand picture, prophetic of the confusion and corruption of later days when the nation, caught up with its free lands and new territory, and dependent upon eastern capital and control, turned back into the making of a fearfully mixed composite of interrelated yet separate regions. Frederick J. Turner had painted many pictures of the significance of the frontier and of sections in the American picture. William E. Dodd and others had pictured the gigantic struggle

for economic control, and many others had interpreted the devious ways by which government had contributed to the advance and advantage of the various regions. Samplings only—land grabbing and manipulation, tariff and freight rates, subsidy and federal grants, lake to Gulf waterway, concessions and franchises, drainage and irrigation, flood control and giant dams, parks and highways, power and oil, colossal land ownership of railroads, utilities, and private corporations, war-time camps and camp cities, and then latest, reconstruction aids to wheat and cotton and fruits and tobacco and dairying and corn; public works and civil works, and whatever must balance the regional claim.

V

It would not be possible, even if desirable, to separate these considerations concerning the larger national picture from those relating specifically to each of the major regions. Least of all could it be done in the case of the South which constituted for a long time not only the larger part of the nation in area, population, and leadership, but which, as gateway to the West, influenced greatly all of the newer regions. Manifestly, it would not be possible to come to an understanding of the region or to project long-time programs without taking into full consideration the historical backgrounds and the cultural factors of the southern folk-regional society, so shaped by more recent history as to cause its regional character well-nigh to transcend the national. What is to be faced will be the actual facts, not what might have been or what might be desired. The task in hand is the rebuilding of the nation and its regions on the basis of the greatest possible promise of the future, not on a hypothetical past. An important part of this re-

building must be based upon the instrumental relation of essential facts to practical affairs. In addition, therefore, to the historical and general cultural factors, the series of conclusions concerning comparison between the South and other regions will feature the resources of physical wealth, technological wealth, artificial wealth, human wealth, and institutional wealth basic to the development of modern civilization, in each of which a large number of special indices will serve as measuring units of comparison. The Southeast and Southwest are the major southern regions to be appraised separately, although more closely interrelated than the other regions in their order. That is, the South has become Southeast and Southwest. Within these two major regions, however, there are still great variations within states and subregions and everywhere there is inequality of development and lack of a balanced culture.

The first of the general conclusions shows the southern regions potentially as being extraordinarily rich in wealth of physical and human resources, yet actually as areas of deficiency in comparison with the present national norms or standards. In terms of development or planning, this means that whereas the South has abundant primary wealth in natural resources and population to make possible almost any reasonable development within a relatively short period of time, it shows great deficiencies in the necessary technologies for the realization of its possibilities. This means further that it lacks adequate science, invention, management, mechanical technology to transform even a small part of its physical wealth into artificial wealth and general well-being, and that it lacks facilities in education, skills, training, social science, social institutions, and other technical ways of developing its human wealth and

maintaining a high standard of life for the region and a fair representation in the national council.

Furthermore, the region shows a very large ratio of waste of both physical and social resources, resulting in an immeasurable drain in land and men and morale. There is also lacking as yet adequate interregional and national mutually cooperative arrangements for hastening development and minimizing waste. The realities of the situation, therefore, are essentially paradoxical. No matter what the hidden possibilities of the region may be, the South under the present economy is not capable of attaining the highest economic and cultural development. Yet an examination of the whole range of evidence indicates that both the limitations and the waste of the region may be practically remediable through normal processes provided social study, social planning, and social action be extended to comprehend the more recently recognized institutional and cultural foundations of planning as well as the economic and political factors immediately involved. For this reason, both the opportunity for success and the responsibility for failure assume increasingly larger proportions.

Unevenness, deficiencies, excellencies, possibilities are all indicated in the comparative score card measuring the South in relation to other regions. In a series of 152 indices in which the states and regions are ranked in their order of priority in the nation, the Southeast falls within the lowest quartile in from 90 to 100 instances, with six states ranking above 100, while the average for the highest quartile is only about 15 out of the 152, low states ranking 7, 10, 11, 13. Similar rankings of other regions show for the lowest quartile, Southwest 45, Northeast 24, Middle States 15, Northwest 26,

Far West 15, while for the highest quartile the Southwest is 20, Northeast 46, Middle States 40, Northeast 40, and Far West 68. And of those indices in which the Southeast ranks high they are more often than not either measures of potential resources or of drain upon capacity. Illustrations include the largest proportion of total population enrolled in schools but with lowest per capita wealth and income to support the schools; or the largest proportion of population living on farms and the lowest per capita man power and income returns on farms; or the highest birth rate, the highest ratio of taxes to value of property, or high ratio of mileage and expenditures for roads. The specific nature of needs and measures for planning will be apparent from even the hastiest purview of the low-high rankings, such as lowest ratio of pure bred stock and lowest income from dairy products alongside the highest ratio of expenditures for commercial fertilizer and the largest area of eroded lands. The total inventory presents an extraordinary array of variations and contrasts.

As bearing upon the chasm between reality and possibility and also upon great cultural differentials in both quantity and meaning of indices, note that a state ranking highest in the largest number of indices of wealth, estates, capital, population increase will likely rank highest also in the ratio of federal relief funds to all relief expenditures, while a state with a high ranking in mineral resources may more nearly approximate bankruptcy than any others. Or note high ratios of income alongside low contribution for agencies for the development of general cultural development or the public weal.

Or again the southern regions having the richest of possibilities in land, agriculture, climate, rainfall, growing season, afford nearly three-fourths of the erosion

lands of the nation, while their one-third of the population produces less than five per cent of the nation's leaders, with an aggregate net drainage of population to other regions of nearly 2,500,000 since the turn of the century. If the South's personnel were not capable of first rank achievement, that would be a special problem. If, however, it is capable and the region does not develop capacities, or having produced abundantly there is a failure to realize results, that is a problem even more susceptible to treatment. But for whatever reason, the South in the early 1930's had but a fragmentary representation upon the major national control groups, economic, social, educational; and what is more there could not be found throughout the whole region proportionate numbers of individuals now equipped by education and experience to fill the quota. Again, on the basis of the costs of education, the economic earning capacity and the drain in inherited estates, the South may well be poorer by ten to fifteen billion dollars from its net loss by migration of more than two million of its people to other parts of the nation.

A special type of cultural foundations from which special dilemmas and deficiencies arise and upon which intelligent planning and action must be based is the South's dual culture load, with its multiple dichotomous institutional modes of life and work. Its dual system of higher education, for instance, not only includes separate institutions for whites and Negroes but also for men and women; these in turn are divided into public and private, denominational and endowed, technical and liberal, to which is also added the considerable load of duplication and multiplication for geographic and denominational representation. The dual load extends further into agriculture, special social and community activities, industry,

featuring not only differentials between white and Negro but, as in agriculture, half owners and half tenants, a vast mass class phenomenon; and elsewhere extremes such as could exhibit Cadillac and ox cart in the same community.

Another similar sampling would feature the heavy load of submarginality and close marginal areas and people throughout the region. In addition to more than a hundred million acres of land depleted by weather and exhaustion there are other millions normally ranking as submarginal and wasted lands, while the South is usually credited with at least ten million people whose standards of living and work are appraised below the margin of human adequacy and many more close to the margin of subsistence. These deficiencies are so widespread and numerous, so diversified and complex as to constitute a heavy load of approximate social pathology, and recent developments in the reduction of land crop acreage is increasing the multitudes of permanently unadjusted folk under the continuing regime of the present South.

The more than 200 mapographs, charts, and classified materials, to be cited subsequently, will provide a fair inventory of the situation as indicated. They will, however, also indicate a vast array of variable indices pointing to more favorable conditions, extraordinary resources, and cultural assets of great range and power. The picture of the decade 1920-1930 remains relatively accurate except for certain apparent tendencies toward reaction and sectionalism already mentioned. This composite picture of the region's assets, I have pointed out in *An American Epoch*, included a physical background of rare range and power, almost unlimited in industrial and economic potentialities, with the promise of beauty, comfort, culture; a human background of

unusual wealth in the best of American stocks, white and black, a human wealth of sufficient range and power to be adequate for the utmost of general cultural achievement and continuity of human work; a certain heritage abounding in the concepts and experience of good living, strong loyalties, spiritual energy, personal distinctions, and strong individuality; a certain distinctiveness in manners and customs; a certain poignancy and power of cultural tradition, with the promise of considerable distinctive achievement in many avenues of individual and institutional endeavor; evidences of capacity for romantic realism; a certain reserve of social resources as well as of physical wealth.

Pictures of resources were also revealed in a substantial measure of progress from meagre beginnings to larger undertakings; a larger ratio of increase in wealth than in the United States as a whole; a larger increase in certain types of industrial development than in the United States as a whole; a larger increase in the development of roads, water power, and many public utilities; a larger ratio of increase in expenditures and enrollment in public education and institutions of higher learning, although in the aggregate still far behind; a certain initiative in public health and public welfare work; a rare opportunity for the development of a better sort of industrial relations unhampered by physical environment or traditional handicap, with here and there a symptom of progress, with by and large a remarkable development in all aspects of economic and institutional growth since the crisis of the Civil War. There was also a certain youthful buoyancy and stirring which gave promise of new reaches in economic achievement, creative effort, in the utilization of a certain sort of institutional genius for politics, reli-

gion, education, literature, and social science; a certain power arising from the abundance of reserve in human and physical resources, coupled with the first fruits of beginning accomplishments and a growing faith and confidence; a better preparation for larger gains in the future; and a certain drawing power for the rest of the country.

The capacity of the South was thus peculiarly reflected not only in its great range and variety, but especially in its sharp contrast and its contradictions and paradoxes. We have pointed out that the South is preëminently national in backgrounds, yet provincial in its processes. There are remnants of European culture framed in intolerant Americanism. There are romance, beauty, glamor, gaiety, comedy, gentleness, and there are sordidness, ugliness, dullness, sorrow, tragedy, cruelty. There are wealth, culture, education, generosity, chivalry, manners, courage, nobility; and there are poverty, crudeness, ignorance, narrowness, brutality, cowardice, depravity.

From all evidence available it is clear that the series of preliminary conclusions relating more specifically to action and planning must include a number of minimum essentials and point the way for further research and exploration into other fields that may not yet be apparent. First of all, the emphasis upon regional planning in the national setting must be kept constantly in mind. There is then the importance of delimiting and studying the cultural and demographic subregions of the South, in addition to the clear mandate for separate planning groups and programs for the Southeast and the Southwest.

A very special assignment will be necessary for further study and for planning programs for the submarginal areas and groups. This will, however, be an integ-

ral part of the larger task of agricultural planning, which will include not only the usual land planning, crop adjustment, and curtailment, but also a very special planning for programs of optimum production for all major agricultural commodities. It will also be closely related to the twin projects of rural electrification and the promotion of a reasonable development of agrarian culture in the South featuring farming as a way of life and a larger number of experiments in the self-sufficiency type of farming.

Other special features must include planning for increased standards of consumption of farm commodities both in the rural areas and in the cities and with this special promotion of inter-regional trade. Involved also is the problem of planning new occupations for the farm tenants dispossessed of land and work and some sort of extension of civil works for a period of time, as unemployment insurance and for rebuilding waste areas and rural housing.

There must be special planning for the industrial growth of the region, balancing such major industries and decentralized industries as may both develop the region, give adequate employment to the too many millions not properly occupied, and readjust the region to the rest of the nation and to international trade. Within the range of these plans come also the adequate representation of the Negro and his work, and for exploring and working the field for new industries and arrangements for attaining a more balanced work and economy.

The supreme obligation is for a planning council dealing with institutions of higher learning and research and with regional and inter-regional cultural development. The evidence seems to justify the conclusion that the necessary educational institutions and leadership can be secured only through an effective regional and inter-regional planning, such as will give not only new momentum to science and education, but such coöperative support and motivation as will enable administrative groups to receive the needed support.

Among the general conclusions which seem clear is that the South cannot itself plan or develop its full measure of development without very substantial coöperation and assistance from without the region. The evidence includes the facts relating to past experience as well as present indications. Such supplementary assistance will be possible from the federal government, from philanthropy and national foundations, and from special corporations and industry, national or international, which will undertake the stimulation or extension of fundamental industries. Such coöperation, moreover, will include personnel as well as finances. Coöperative efforts and assistance, however, will be through the designed arrangements made possible by planning groups and will not represent superimposed and arbitrary direction or mandates. Part and parcel of the planning obligation will be the task of providing adequate regional and state planning groups, representing the fundamental interests and activities, such as have been indicated as minimum essentials for regional development.